595
571 piece of small a[illegible]al. a5 asks for part of it and a4 answers:
"Let your father give you his." These relationships bring about
856 a rather curious consequence: the young girls become independ-
595 ent more rapidly than the boys. They follow the young wives,
take part in their activities, while the boys, left to themselves,
timidly try to adapt themselves to the group but without great
success, and usually remain, at least in earliest childhood, be-
side their mothers.

857 [70] Considering now the relationships of children among
themselves, the most striking characteristic is the absence of
play. In certain groups (central and south), the children
manufacture, although rarely, small objects of rolled or braided
straw, but generally they know no other distraction than fights
or contests which they do together, and lead an existence
modeled on that of the adults. In fact, they carry on the normal
day of the women: in the morning, preparing the manioc, then
the cumaru nuts, bathing when it begins to get warm; when the
sun is very high, retiring to the shade, and before night, gather-
ing wood for the fire. Likewise, the girls learn to weave, they
walk around, laugh, sleep. The little boys do not begin to
play with little bows and imitate the male pursuits until much
later (from 8 to 10 years on). But all become rapidly conscious
of the fundamental and sometimes tragic problem of Nambikwara
life, that of nourishment, and of the active role that is expected
of them. They take part in the harvesting and collecting ex-
peditions with great excitement. In time of need, it is not rare
to see them seek their own food outside the camp, working to
unearth roots, or walking in the grass on tiptoe, a large stripped
branch in hand, to catch grasshoppers. The little girls know
what an important role the women have in the economic life of
the tribe, and are impatient to make themselves worthy of it.
[231 Thus, we find a young girl (b5) who tenderly carries a puppy
482] in the tump line that her mother uses for her little sister, and
we make the remark:

16. uainuttte ufkɔrage
She caresses the little puppy?

Her mother answers me:

uefkuatnore uainuetuikɔdeʔena tãjtniene
The little girl caresses the puppy (because she wishes) to
raise it.

to which the little girl adds gravely:

857 b5, who insists that the treatment that one gives the small ani-
609 mal to divest it of its hair be applied to the ethnologist:

21. nʔiuɣenãghẽe nʔuɣẽeguedne (b1)
Put his beard in the fire! Roast his beard!

857 In general, they are to be good companions, enthusiastic, and
157 untiringly avid for games that are shown them. In exchange, they are very obliging informants once they have become friends. Al-
[551] most all the information which we were able to gather concerning proper names comes from them.[1]

● 231 This chapter cannot be ended without presenting some observations relating to domestic animals. Not only do the children actually live in very intimate relationships with the animals, but the latter are treated in the family like real children at least outwardly. We mean that they share the group's food, benefit from the same manifestations of tenderness or interest—delousing, games, conversation, caresses—as the human beings. In everything, their treatment is [73] curiously the same. The Nambikwara have numerous domestic animals, first of all dogs, and cocks and hens, who are all descendants of those introduced in their region by the Rondon Commission; monkeys, parakeets, birds of various kinds, and finally, the caetetu, the coati (Nasua sp.), the jaguatirica. Only the dog seems to have acquired an
[224] occasionally utilitarian role in the service of women, for hunting with the digging stick (cf. quotation No. 16). The men never use them for hunting with bow and arrow. The other ani-
231 mals are raised for the purpose of pleasure. They are not eaten,
262 the people do not consume the eggs of the hens who lay them in the bush. But they do not hesitate to devour a young bird if it dies after a vain attempt at acclimatization.

The terms used for behavior regarding animals are the same as those used for humans. They say dehẽna uɨtte uɨkɔrage, "the woman caresses the baby," or ɰãinuette uɨkɔrage, "the woman caresses the puppy."

231 While traveling, except for the animals capable of walking,
482 the whole menagerie is packed with the other baggage. The monkeys, attached to the women's hair, adorn them with an amusing living helmet, elongated by the long tail curled around the neck of the bearer. The parakeets and hens perch on top of the baskets, other animals are held in the arms. None of them receive abundant nourishment but, even in days of need, they
231 521 have their share, however little it may be. As compensation, they are an endless subject of distraction for the group, the

[1] [ie. From the children.--Analyst]

231 principal spectacle for amusement. One hears such exclama-
521 tions as:

22. jakhũninde ɾteru ɲirokũnene (b1)
The flying ants! He (the monkey) catches them to eat!

They talk to the monkey while giving him fruits: ɲoʂɾ, "take!" and as the monkeys live very intimately with the dogs, they laugh hilariously seeing their goings on:

23. hõte ɲãinde miramiraina hõte ɲairɾdniena (b1).
The monkey mounts the back of the dog! The monkey bites the dog!

and again:

24. kuɣariʂena tãkɲlahẽ tãkela aɣoriʂẽ kãdaiena (b1).
It is balancing head down, head down it balances, it fell! (the monkey).

231 The children like to play at burning animals, and when
857 insects are involved, they are allowed to do so; but if they try
[865] to burn domestic animals by touching them surreptitiously with a piece of smoldering wood, they are severely reprimanded.

[74] THE GRANDPARENTS

603 We use the term in the classificatory sense, that is, the members of the third ascendant generation. In general, there are few—two in restricted group a1, five out of 75 persons in the enlarged group, three out of 31 in enlarged group b1 (in this estimate we do not include A1, a2 and a14, who can be classed as grandparents indirectly). This small number is
[165 explained, in part, by the very high mortality rate of the
987] Nambikwara, and partially also by the fact that aged persons, although participating in the nomadic life, do not move with the same mobility as the other members of the group, and are met more rarely. Whatever the case may be, the grandparents share the life of their descendants. The founding of a new family does not erase the ties between adults and their parents. We have underlined several examples while studying the phenomena
[592] of residence. Aged or widowed parents join the household of their son or daughter, either permanently or temporarily. Thus, in the absence of his son-in-law (A21) and of his wife (a18), A17 installs himself with his daughter (a22) and her baby (a23). She is the one who cooks manioc and cumaru nuts for the three.

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

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1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate III]

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1. Female type of group c (note the little monkey Cebus sp. on her head, cf. p. 73). 2. Male types of group a2.

[End Plate IV]

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1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

[End Plate V]

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1. The little girl b5 and her dog (cf. p. 70). 2. Three sisters-in-law delousing each other (cf. p. 75). 3-4. Erotic games (A1 and a4) are hard to distinguish from contests of friendly scuffling where children add themselves willingly to the secondary wives and their husband (cf. pp. 62 and 69).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catizal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood plants. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Siriono*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take
[264] out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot.
[412] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more
[251] than one with a small family even though the man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which
[231] they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry
[264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amus-
264 ing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

000 [411] 203 [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some 231 [825] become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (Colaptes campestris, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well: he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[825] Doves (Chamepelius talpacoti), young vultures (Sarcoramphus papa, Catharista atratus brasiliensis, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

855 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.